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[622]

In Siaton the cabezas were also responsible for the forced labor called polo or prestacion personal, required by the Spaniards. Until 1884 the Spaniards required all male Filipinos from sixteen to sixty years of age to work forty days each year in building or repairing public bridges and roads, cutting timber, working in artillery foundries, shipyards, etc. One could escape the polo by paying a sum of money, called falla, in lieu of actual labor.[78] In 1884 the polo was reduced in the Philippines from forty to fifteen days.

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In Siaton, however, the polo was said to be only thirty days each year and the men were paid thirty centavos (fifteen cents) a week for their labor.

Cadiane, who once supervised these workers, said the men often paid a falla of two pesos (one dollar), the equivalent of ten hours of work. "Many just paid because the mud was sticky and knee-deep in the roads when it rained." The cabezas had to attend church every Sunday in the poblacion. If they failed to attend they were punished, sometimes whipped, by the Spaniards' in the poblacion. Zaide writes: "Every Sunday, after Mass, the gobernadorcillo, the cabezas de barangay, and other town officials...would repair to the convent, and, on bended knees, kiss the hand of the padre."[79]

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[78] Zaide, op. cit., pp. 172-3 and James L. Le Roy, The Americans in the Philippines: A History of the Conquest and First Years of Occupation with an Introductory Account of the Spanish Rule. New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1941, I, p. 45.

[79] Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, p. 164.

planters small, only part of the field is prepared for immediate transplanting. Sometimes several days are taken to transplant one paddy. A group may be transplanting in part of the paddy while in another part a man is harrowing or leveling the soil. 243

Transplanting is done by both sexes. Men transplant rice more noticeably than they plant corn. One reason is the back-breaking work of transplanting seedlings. If all the seedlings are not planted the same day, they are put in water and placed in the shade. 243 462

Cooperative transplanting groups are very rare in Caticugan. None was observed during my residence. It is considered cheaper today to pay one's helpers than to prepare and furnish the food and drink necessary for cooperative labor groups. Hired planters are paid fifty cents a day and given their breakfast and lunch. The few people who hired laborers to help transplant paddies in Caticugan were owners who lived in the poblacion. 243 476 [465]

Transplanting time is not a festive period it is said to be in some parts of the Philippines. In Caticugan there were no songs and music. A Philippine school song aptly describes the transplanting in Caticugan. 243

> Planting rice is never fun.
> Bent from morn till the set of sun.
> Cannot stand and cannot sit
> Cannot rest for a little bit[28]

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[28]Ortigas, Jr., op. cit., p. 1.

40: Hart E-5 (.95.) 1954 OA: Philippines
Central Bisayan OA.4

is sufficiently dried to be threshed. Rice harvesting is everyone's job. Wernstedt reports that in Negros men, woman and children harvest the rice. One person can harvest about one cavan of palay per day; an acre producing twelve cavans, the average yield for Negros, requires twelve man-days to harvest.[32]

Caticugan's rice harvest attracts harvesters from as far as Zamboanguita and Dauin, although most of them live in neighboring barrios or sitios. Harvesters are paid according to the speed with which they work. Some cultivators may give their laborers one-seventh of the palay harvested, especially if they are in a hurry to have their paddies harvested and wish to attract help. Harvesters from other barrios who stay several days at one field furnish their own food. The common division of palay in Caticugan, however, is one ganta to the laborer for every eight harvested and threshed. The division is usually made at the end of each day's work.

This harvest practice in Caticugan seems to have developed during the last war when the people harvested their palay rapidly to avoid expropriation by Japanese patrols or guerrillas. For this reason division was made at the end of each day. The usual pre-war practice was to dry palay, put it in one large pile, and thresh all the grain at a later date. The common payment to harvest help was two gantas of rice for every day a man worked at

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[32] Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 199.

harvesting and threshing the rice, plus meals. Some, but not many, barriofolk still cling to this pre-war practice. Rising costs of food may be another reason for discontinuing the former method of harvesting rice in Caticugan. 243 465

To thresh the palay a large buri mat, often especially made for the job, is placed on the ground. A rough shelter of palm leaves usually is built over the mat to protect the threshers from the sun. A horizontal pole connects the two vertical poles that support the roof. The rice heads are then placed on the mat and the people rub them between their bare feet while grasping the horizontal pole for support. This is the common method of threshing rice in southern Negros. In Negros Occidental, the rice is usually threshed on a platform raised five to ten feet above the ground. The palay falls through the slatted floor of the platform to mats below. If a wind is blowing the palay is winnowed simultaneously. 243

The palay is gathered and winnowed in flat baskets to eliminate loose straw. The rice is then carried to the house and stored in large buri bags. There are not many separate storehouses in Caticugan; palay and unhusked or shelled corn, usually are stored in the houses. Rice stalks are fed to animals, often by merely turning horses and carabaos loose in the paddies. No other fertilizer is put on the paddies during my period of residence.

In the past the cut rice stalks in Caticugan were piled into stacks (tumpils). A mat of dried rice straw or coconut leaves was made on the ground with a tree

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In Caticugan, Sandolot and Datag, the average share of harvesters was 10 per cent of the total rice harvest. This is smaller than the share harvesters receive on upland rice caingins, which is usually 25 per cent of the total harvest. However, harvesting caingins is harder work and fewer laborers go to these fields than to the more conveniently located, easier-to-harvest lowland paddies. Actually, this percentage would be slightly higher if the few paddies harvested without helpers had been eliminated from this survey. In Caticugan, four paddies were harvested without outside help. As noted previously, most harvesters, as one farmer said, "take pity" on people with very small paddies or harvests that have been decreased by pests or inclimate weather.

CORN

Introduction

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Siaton is a part of the larger Southern Corn-Coconut region of Negros where corn is the dominant crop. Corn meal is usually eaten three times a day. In 1952, 3,196 acres of corn were planted in Siaton municipality producing an average yield of 11 bushels. In the same year 20,344 acres of corn were planted in the seven southern municipalities of Negros Oriental (Valencia to Tolong) with an average yield of 8 bushels. Since the

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After the paddies are flooded, they are permitted to dry for one or two days. Any standing water is drained for the farmers state if the paddies are sowed when flooded a beetle (amawikan) eats the seed corn. The first plowing of the paddies, bongkag, is followed by their harrowing. The second plowing, okay, is done in the opposite direction the field was first plowed. The paddy is again harrowed. The third and final plowing, todling, makes the furrows in which the seed corn is planted. The furrows are about 2 feet apart. Furrows are made closer together than in the regular non-irrigated cornfields because the corn stalks do not grow so large in the paddies.

In some of the paddies which have a very clayey soil the land is not plowed and harrowed before the seed corn is planted. Furrows are made only where corn is to be planted; the rest of the paddy remains uncultivated. In Dolog the pay for a day's plowing is one basket of unhusked corn or three gantas of seed corn, specially selected for planting. [465]

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The Philippine plow is a rather crude implement made entirely of wood except for the iron share--the so-called "square" type with a horizontal foot, curved handle, short sheath, strongly curved beam, and single mould board. (See Plate XXIV.)[1] Both Jagor and Kroeber suggest that the Philippine plow is of Spanish origin. However, the same plow type is found in Java, Bali, and the Celebes as well as in China and Japan while there is

[1 See p. 329 cat. 412 or 116 -- Analyst]

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The group performed this ceremony with much amusement. Then all the guests were served a meal, including food prepared for the dulot offering.

More visitors came later, although not as many as were expected. Pas said this was because six other dulots were being held in Lamtoc the same night! The visitors were given kinalopis to take home; the man who conducted the dulot received an additional gift of food.

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The spatial distribution of the dulot in Caticugan is quite interesting. The dulot is practiced in Talo-ot, by most of the people who cultivate fields west of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan, and in lower Naga. People living east of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan and in upper Naga generally do not hold a dulot before harvesting corn. While the distribution of the dulot in the upper Siaton River valley is not known in detail, it is far more widely practiced in these barrios than in Caticugan. Lamtoc is a small sitio yet in one night six different families were holding a dulot. This attempt to delimit the dulot areas in Caticugan is only approximate. One woman living in Talo-ot cultivated as a tenant, a field between the main path and Caticugan creek; she held a dulot.

It is difficult to determine why the dulot is not held in upper Naga. Many factors are involved. First, there are only a few fields in this area. Second, more people are giving up the dulot in Caticugan than in the more remote barrios fact to be discussed later. Third,

insight into the once greater abundance of food in Caticugan is given from an offering made during the last part of the Spanish period. This offering included one pig, fifteen or twenty chickens (with white feathers), a basketful each of bingka, bodbod, and puto (all varieties of rice cakes), three plates with ten eggs each, and large quantities of tuba. In the past the ritualist who performed the dulot in Naga often received a basketful of corn for his service; none of the ritualists receives this amount today.

Some individuals who stopped the dulot in Caticugan said they did so because "it is too expensive today." The food offering to the spirits was not as costly as feeding the guests. The dulot described in Lamtoc required much corn to make the cakes, beside the other food served. It is possible that since the corn yield in these northern barrios is nearly twice that of Caticugan the community dulot is less of a burden. One reason given for having only a family dulot in Caticugan is that the expense of guests is eliminated. Dulots held for Caticugan's irrigated corn harvests would attract a large number of people since they would occur during a seasonal period of food shortage.

This detailed discussion of the spatial distribution of the dulot in both Caticugan and the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley illustrates how many factors must be considered in explaining change in one custom. There is no "royal road" to a clear understanding

$275 in Ragay Gulf. These figures illustrate the inflation that has occurred in the Philippines since 1938.

Table XXXIV, at the end of this chapter, lists the local, English and scientific names (whenever possible) of fish caught in Siaton bonsods; Table XXXV gives the frequency of their catch and class accorded them by people living in both the barrio and Siaton poblacion.[1]

Construction of the Fish Corral

Construction of bonsods in Siaton begins in late October or early November. Bonsods are built, for the most part, between Malabuhan and Salag Point; few bonsods are erected west of Salag Point because the coral sea floor makes it almost impossible to embed the posts. (See Plates XLIV and XLV.) In the past the long bamboos needed to build a bonsod could be cut in Catiougan and other barrios near the sea. Today bamboo is cut in Lantoc, Balanan, and Casala-an and floated as rafts down the river since nearby bamboo resources have been exhausted. Some fish corral owners advance to the cutters in the barrio part of the money to be paid for the bamboo with full payment made on delivery. Long thick poles usually cost about twenty cents each; in Tanjay similar bamboos are reported to bring twice this amount.

Most of the rattan obtained to build the bonsods comes from Tolong municipality. The people said that once rattan grew abundantly in the hills near Catiougan;

[1] [see pp. 640-645 -- Analyst]

[2] [See pp. 586A and B, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

tugging the boat up a steep hill. The boat measured 63 feet in length and the widest part of the hull exceeded 3 feet.[72] For three days the group had been struggling to get the parao to the river from their destination. Each man received one dollar a day for both their labor and carabao.

396 501 483 [465]

Boat Construction

When the contractor has made all necessary arrangements the workers select a tree for the boat's hull. Trees used most frequently to make boats in Mangoto are magsinolog (white lauan), balangobang and lanitga (both species of red lauan). These woods are preferred by boat-builders for their lightness and durability.[73] In the past bay-ang trees were cut but today so few exist that they are not used. In the "old days," according to Siaton informants, many lanitga trees grew near Barrio Cabangahan

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[72] The bottom of the boat was 10 inches thick; the solid stern, where the motor was to be mounted, was 6 feet long.

[73] Magsinolog is probably Shorea eximia (Miquel) Scheffer, that is widely distributed in the Philippines. Reyes, op. cit., pp. 313-5. Reyes states S. eximia is sold in the local market as white lauan or almon "...and is an excellent wood for boat planking..." Lanitga is possibly Toona calantas Merrill and Rolfe, Reyes, op. cit., pp. 183-184. T. calantas is commonly known as kalantas but is called lanipga in Samar, Leyte and Cebu and grows in Negros; Reyes reports T. calantas is used to make boats. Balangobang is not listed by Reyes but was said to be a species of red lauan by the forestry officials in Tanjay. White and red lauan, according to Tamesis and Aguilar, is widely used in the Philippines for barato construction. Tamesis and Aguilar, op. cit., p. 64.

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assumption of certain skills by local specialists who are paid a cash wage.

Table XXXVIII[1] illustrates the itemized costs of three different dwellings built in Caticugan in 1951.[10] House C's cost probably comes closer to the cost of the typical Caticugan dwelling than the other two dwellings. This house had two rooms--sala and kitchen--lacked wooden shutters, cement post supports, and little lumber was used. Table XXXIX lists the items and cost of building a poblacion dwelling inhabited by a Siaton municipal official. No bamboo or nipa were used; the cost of the two dwellings illustrate the difference in dwellings between Caticugan barriofolk and Siaton principalia.

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[369]
[565]

The owner of House C did not hire any carpenters; he held a palihog that cost eight dollars. The work accomplished by palihog assistants could have been done in half a day by two laborers. The palihog, in this case, is an example of how "... the prestige factor inherent in the giving of a feast compensates for the lessened efficiency and the lower return."[11] While precise figures cannot be

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342
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[556]

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342

1 [See p. 667ff, cat. 435 or 342--Analyst]

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[10] Some men of Caticugan make extra money by working for lumber firms in Dumaguete. For example, a father and son in Barrio Caticugan were hired by one firm to cut first-class timber (salay, gisok, sambulawan, yakal, and amoning) in the mountains a day's walk from their home. They were paid eight cents per board foot with an additional two cents per board foot for bringing the lumber from Pinac-an (where they worked a permit issued to the Dumaguete lumber firm) to the poblacion. Another group of four men in Barrio Caticugan worked four days cutting lumber from felled trees in the nearby mountains; they earned a total of twenty-five dollars, or a daily wage of about one dollar and fifty-five cents. These were the only two groups hired to cut timber in Caticugan.

[11] Melville J. Herskovits, Economic Anthropology: A Study in Comparative Economics. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, p. 107.